1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

224 of wild pigs for several days, killing all those which come within their reach.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* concentrate on hunting tapirs, which seem to be abundant in their territory. They track them with dogs or follow the deep "runs" opened by the tapirs in the bush and pursue their prey until it is forced into a stream, where they can kill it with ease. Similarly, they drive deer into streams, where they shoot or club them.

To capture birds, hunters conceal themselves in a shelter built on a tree where the birds roost, and snare them with a noose at the end of a long pole. To catch parrots, they use a tame parrot as a decoy; for pigeons, they put corn out as bait (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 31).

The spring-pole traps were constructed like those of the *Caingué* or of the Chaco Indians. They consisted of a flexible sapling and a noose placed near a bait (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 30).

224 262 783 **Hunting ritual.**—As a rule a hunter never ate the meat of the game he had slain but gave it to some companion. He could not eat the flesh of a tapir he had killed before he had performed a rite in which he consumed premasticated tapir flesh and the charcoal of the burned tapir's windpipe wrapped in grass (Henry, 1941, p. 86). When the *Aweikoma-Caingang* killed a tapir they stewed "tapir grass" on it and placated its soul with friendly words lest it prevent other tapirs from being caught. Monkeys were also asked to come and share the food of the hunter. *Caingang* of São Paulo considered the jaguar and deer meat taboo (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 32); others refrain on some occasions from eating paca, capybara, and armadillo flesh.

226 **Fishing.**—The *Caingang*, although fond of fish, are very poor fishermen. They shoot fish with bows and arrows, impale them with two-pronged spears, or catch them by hand in the falls when shoals of fish ascend the river to spawn. They also capture them by hand in small lagoons formed by floods, which they drain (Horta Barboza, 1913, pp. 32–33). The *Caingang* of Misiones blocked small streams with V-shaped stone dams. Against the openings they built a platform on which they placed a large mat folded and tied up at one end like a huge bag.

221 **Seasonal rhythm.**—After planting their fields, the *Caingang* of Misiones went fishing along the small tributaries of the Paraná River. Later they moved to the Sierra Central to collect pine nuts, and afterward returned to their fields for the harvest. During their wanderings they hunted and gathered fruits and larvae in the forest.

252 **Food preparation.**—The women do most of the cooking, though men generally prepare the game they kill. The *Caingang* generally roast the unskinned animal in ashes, on a spit, or on a rectangular babracot. The earth oven serves for baking large slices of meat,

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for example, tapir. A large pit is dug in the ground and lined with stones. A fire is built within the hole until the stones are glowing. The ashes and embers are then removed, the stones are covered with leaves, and the meat, carefully wrapped, is placed inside and buried under a thick layer of soil. Twelve hours later the meat is taken out, perfectly cooked. Fish are broiled on a babracot, then stored on an indoor platform. 252

Women pound maize with heavy wooden pestles in cylindrical wooden mortars, which are sometimes large enough to accommodate three workers at a time and too heavy to be moved (fig. 58, *d*). They also have smaller mortars with which they use stone pestles. Maize flour is prepared as mush or is kneaded into dough and baked in ashes. Maize kernels are often soaked in water to the point of rotting, mashed, kneaded into loaves with saliva added, and roasted in ashes.

The pith of pindo palms is crushed in a mortar, sifted, and roasted in a pan, just as with manioc flour.

Soup is made from husked, chewed, soaked, and pounded pine nuts. They are also roasted in the shell on the embers; pine-nut dough may also be kneaded into small loaves and baked in the ashes. Piñons are preserved in tightly closed baskets soaked in water for a month and a half. In the past salt was unknown; tart malagüeta berries (*Capsicum frutescens*) were used instead. [251] [263]

To stir the fire or lift food to and from it, the *Caingang* use a curved withe (Manizer, 1930, pp. 772, 774; Henry, 1941, pl. 2, *f*).

HOUSES

Lozano (1873, 1:424) describes the *Caingang* or *Guayaná* hut as follows: 342

> They stick in the ground a long forked pole against which they lean crosswise four other poles. In this way they make four divisions covered with palm leaves. In each division lives a family with the children. Each compartment communicates with the other by small doors. In each community there are five or six such huts placed at convenient distance from each other so that everyone can hunt and fish.

This type of house has entirely disappeared among modern *Caingang*, but a few years ago the *Aweikoma* remembered it as the house of the open savannas and were able to reconstruct one (Henry, 1941, p. 166).

The more recent *Caingang* dwelling was a lean-to (fig. 56), which often was made into a gable-roofed hut when two structures of this type were joined. The *Aweikoma-Caingang* live either in an arched lean-to which is open on three sides or in a hut composed of two such units, the arches being made to descend to the ground at both ends (Henry, 1941,

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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of it, or he carefully chops out the root or log until the path is clear; he never leaves a rough edge.

The forest has certain little peculiarities whose marks the Indians recognize when they see one of their number come back from the hunt with a bloody eye or a mass of little cuts on his legs. There is a kind of bamboo that the Indians call *kpekpĺo* which hangs like a vine from trees and whose mark on the human body is so specific that the Indians can always tell when one of them has fallen foul of it. *Kpekpĺo* has a surface like sandpaper and a long thorn that curves slightly upward like a tiny scimitar. If you escape the thorn the surface may rasp across your face and leave a stinging welt. There is also a tall strong grass that grows in the open places the Indians love so well and that cuts like a knife. No one dares just walk through it; the feet must swing out like scythes to beat it down.

The Indians are acutely aware of their mountain forests as something with which they have to struggle and which is full of pain for them. The forest is a mass of vines and thorns that cut and trip; it is alive with insects that suck and torment; and they make no bones about saying so. They divide the forest into "clean places," those in which there are no vines, thorns, or bamboo,—they also call them "pretty places"—and "dirty places," where the tangle is so thick that it obscures the light of day.

In the winter these mountain forests are cold and nights are gray with the mist that rises from the watercourses. The temperature often drops below freezing at night, and not even the thickest clothing will keep out the cold and damp. Yet for generations the only clothing the Indians had was a knee-length netlike robe of plant fiber, worn about the waist by the women, and a closely woven shirt of the same material, reaching to the hips, worn by the men in the winter. When they began to raid the Brazilians they stole vests and blankets and it was common to see an Indian naked except for a little belt around his waist to tie up his penis—and a vest. The vest kept the torso warm while it allowed freedom of motion to the arms. The Kaingáng never do anything more with an animal skin than make soup of it, and before they had blankets and vests they simply spread a few fern fronds on the ground at night and lay down on them to sleep, pulling a net-like robe over themselves if they were so fortunate as to possess one.

On winter nights they are miserable and often get up to warm themselves by the fire. One morning in May as I warmed my aching joints by the fire and watched my breath spiral upward, Chukembégn said to me: "Last night I slept all over the place. It was so cold nobody slept." Sometimes they fall asleep sitting by the fire, their arms on their drawn-up knees, their heads sunk forward. The scarcity of blankets brings the young men together in the sleeping parties they love, when a half dozen of them,

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Distribution of Population

At the time of their pacification the Kaingáng were distributed on both sides of the Rio Plate within, at the most, three or four days' journey on foot from the pine forest. It is impossible to determine through questioning exactly what determined the movements of all of one extended family under conditions of minimum tension. It was not exclusively food. If it were we would expect all of the members of the family around the Rio Plate to have gone to the pine forest in the fall. But only certain groups would go. Within the extended families the movements were determined quite as much by the desire to attack or the necessity of fleeing from the Brazilians and the wish to look for one another as by the quest for food.

Fruit and Insect Foods

Other Fruit and Roots

While I was among the Kaingáng wild fruits were not important. They either gather fruit when it falls to the ground, climb up after it, or chop the tree down.

I never heard of the Kaingáng using any roots for food.

Wasps and Bees

We can see the wasps buzzing about the opening to their nest twenty feet above the ground in a huge tree that looks as if it were made of three trees grown together. The trunk forms a kind of cavern, and when we step inside we see that the part in which the wasps have built their nest is hollow all the way up. We collect wood and build a big fire at the base of the trunk, and the smoke rises as if up a chimney. We build another fire outside the trunk so that the wasps will not come down to annoy us. As the smoke pours out of the opening to the nest the wasps come with it, and soon there is a hum like a buzzsaw as thousands of wasps buzz about the entrance to their nest. When my two companions are convinced that the wasps have been completely evicted they take axes and go to work on the tree. When it at last crashes the nest has fallen through an arc of twenty-foot radius. No wasps are in sight now, but a fire is set on top of the tree near the nest to keep any chance wanderers away. Again the axes cut, and soon the structure of the nest has been laid bare: tier on tier of cells full of larvae and pupae. We take out the layers of the paperlike structure and in our hunger eat the contents raw. They are sweet, rich, and juicy. Now we build small fires and lay the cells against them to roast. Having eaten my fill, I receive no more. The two Indians divide the nest, the one who discovered it getting the larger share.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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times used and that this makes the beer particularly *thô*. Sometimes a little 273
medicine is added for the sake of general good health. From time to time the beer is stirred with a long rod of bamboo, and the scum that rises is scooped off with the hands.

Preparation of Food

The women make pine-nut soup. A woman chews the raw pine nuts to 252
a pulp, mixes them with water, and boils them. Sometimes they are pounded. The usual way of eating pine nuts is roasted in the shell in the coals.

Meats are sometimes boiled, and nowadays the broth is mixed with manioc meal and eaten. Most meat is roasted. This may be done in two ways. A scaffold of green branches is erected, a fire built under it, and the meat placed on it and roasted. Or a shallow pit is dug, a fire built in it, and green branches laid over it, the meat is then laid on the branches with leaves on top of it, and the whole covered with earth and left there for several hours. When the meat is taken off the branches it is juicy and delicious. The pit method is the best way to roast meat. In roasting meat in this way at least two people generally cooperate. One digs the hole while the other gets wood and leaves.

Small animals are spitted and broiled. Fish are broiled.

Palm shoots are boiled or eaten raw.

Kĕmé is made from the pith of the trunk of a certain palm. Leaves are laid on the ground and a cloth placed on top of them. The trunk is chopped vertically into strips; these are placed on a log and pounded with a stick. The mass is sifted in a basket, and the siftings are stuffed into a bamboo tube and roasted in the coals for five or ten minutes. The mass in the tube is then taken out, made into balls or cakes, and roasted in the coals. It tastes much like wet sawdust, and the Indians nowadays do not eat it even when they have the chance. Formerly it seems to have been fairly important in their diet. They mixed it with soup just as they do now with manioc meal. The Kaingáng say that in ancient times they used corn in the same way.

The Kaingáng used also to make a soup of the pollen of the pine tree. *Taí* fruit and wild *mamão* are roasted in the coals. Sometimes *taí* is pounded in a mortar and eaten.

FIRE

When the Kaingáng move camp the woman takes an ember[9] from the 372
last fire. Men carry no fire; so if they need it to roast nuts when they are hungry or to make fire to drive away wasps or "dangerous bees" they

[9] Any wood will do.

224 The sureness of the first throw, which never misses its mark, is a wonderful thing to behold. The animal is killed instantly and its flesh prepared.

Formerly, and even today, if no dogs were available, the Indians would look for a spoor and follow it cautiously, with unequaled skill, until they came silently upon the tapir in its lair and killed it with their arrows.

They call this animal oyólema or niá-mbang.

They follow the same procedure when hunting deer, cambêma, which they surround or take by surprise. This is not an easy task, for it is well known that the deer is the fleetest and most alert game to be found in our forests.

Another important game animal is the wild pig, ũgma. The Indians value its flesh greatly, and are particularly enthusiastic about the fact that it can always be killed in such large numbers. Whenever they chance upon the spoor of wild pigs, they follow it carefully until they find and attack the animals. If the herd is large, the Indians often follow it for weeks on end, taking along their wives, children, and all their belongings. They attack the pigs whenever they can, and always kill as many as possible. [120]

Actually, nothing escapes their sure and deadly arrows and their excellent digestion. From the ferocious jaguar, mêngma, to the graceful and dainty uru partridge, [Odontophorus genus--Translator] pupulêma, nothing is spared.

[525] They have a special liking for the flesh of monkeys, conhárema, and howlers, gũma. They believe that the meat of these animals is endowed with exceptional qualities, possibly on account of the legend related below.

[554] The warriors keep count with great pride of the jaguars they kill, for this adds considerably to their standing in the tribe. Bravery demands that a jaguar be attacked when cornered upon the ground; this is the most dangerous situation for the hunter, who kills the animal with arrows or spear, depending on its position. Then the courageous hunter eats the heart of his victim, and shares the rest of its flesh with those who are present.

252 To roast meat they dig a large pit in the ground and line it with river stones, on which a fire is kept burning until the stones become red-hot. At this point the remnants of the fire are removed

252 and the stones covered with pieces of wood and palm leaves (ndõtoiõ), where the chunks of meat are laid with the hide still attached. The whole thing is covered with another layer of palm leaves and a thick layer of earth. The meat cooks slowly in this fashion for about twelve hours, and the flavor it acquires in the process is remarkable.

263 The Botocudo were altogether unfamiliar with salt until the time of peaceful contact, and for a long time thereafter they refused all salted food from us. Even today the older warriors will not accept our food because it is salty.

Not only are they unfamiliar with salt, but they use no seasoning whatever and abhor it in all its forms.

231 Their manner of training dogs for the hunt is interesting. Whenever they manage to obtain a dog, they treat it at first with great affection in order to win its faithfulness. The dog is tied with an embira [a bast fiber yielded by various trees--Translator] cord by the side of its new master, who feeds it exclusively on meat in generous and frequent portions. The man spends nearly all his time with the dog: now petting it, now talking in its ear as though to a human being whose complete loyalty were to be won. This in fact he soon achieves, and to such a degree that the dog learns to detest everyone else and becomes watchful in the extreme.

This objective once reached, the lot of the poor dog changes completely: in the course of his wanderings through the forest, the Indian gives it absolutely nothing to eat, thus forcing it to hunt--and not for itself but for its master. Such is the means they use to turn any dog into an excellent hunter. It is a lamentably cruel procedure, and it works against their own interests in the long run, for all their dogs meet the sad fate of gradual emaciation and eventual death by starvation.

229 In addition to game, the fruit of the Araucaria constitutes one
481 of their basic foods for a considerable part of the year. During the months of April, May and June the Indians proceed in groups to the pine woods. They scale the trees with the help of a leather strap and a cord of bamboo fiber, which they tie in a loop around the trunk. They place the cord under the armpits and rest their body against it, while their feet are held against the trunk by the leather strap. They climb by alternately lifting the cord while their feet are secure, and

222 raising their feet while their body rests against the cord. [121] In
481 this fashion they scale the straight trunk of the Araucaria with wonderful rapidity and skill. Once they have reached the top, they climb among the branches and shake them to make the cones fall.

352 The seeds [pinhões] are simply roasted in the fire, crushed in a mortar, and reduced to a mush which is used to prepare a broth cooked with water. With this paste they also make small cakes, round and flat, the size of a saucer, which are roasted on the embers. The seeds cannot be stored very long when fresh because they soon
251 become infested with worms. To preserve them, the Indians place the pinhões in special baskets, well sealed and previously lined with cactus leaves. These baskets are immersed in small streams at especially selected locations for a month and a half. This preserves the nuts, which retain their nutritive qualities for a long period of time. Obviously, they are all but appetizing when removed from the water; they exude a powerful and unpleasant odor and their taste is repulsive and intolerable to our stomach. The Indians, however, are not upset in the least by these new characteristics of the pinhões, which they still prize very highly. The broths and cakes described above are largely made from the preserved nut.

222 Wild honey also plays an important part in their diet, and they
242 cannot do without it. Their ability time and again to discover a bee nest in the midst of the forest, nearly always at the top of a high tree, could only be described as an instinct or an additional sense. Once the nest has been sighted, they scale the tree by means of the process described above, with cord and strap, which they use [once on top] to steady themselves against the tree. This leaves their arms free to wield the short-handled axe with remarkable sureness and skill. They split the wood exactly in the right place and make an opening in the shape of a perfect triangle. Every part of the bee nest is utilized: the chrysalids are eaten along with the honey and comb, and every bit of the wax is gathered for various purposes.

They do not merely eat the chrysalids of bees but also those of other insects such as wasps, hornets, etc., the nests of which they seek out eagerly.

262 Apparently the dearth of game in these southern woods forced the Indians to resort to every possible means of satisfying their hunger.